HERALD OF FREEDOM.

"I ENTER INTO NO COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY. I AM FOR JUSTICE, IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY, AND ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF THE LIVING GOD."

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HERALD OF FREEDOM.

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JOSEPH HORACE KIMBALL, Editor.

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ANTI-SLAVERY.

[From the Liberator.]

Fourth Anniversary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in this city on Wednesday last. When we saw the large number of gentlemen from the country, who had come to the meeting as delegates, and friends of this righteous cause, we were filled with shame, that our liberal, liberty-loving, boastful city would not afford them an ample room. All the Churches in Boston, that have ever been let to benevolent associations, had been applied for by the Committee of arrangements and refused; also the several Halls in the city, that were thought to be large enough, and were withheld. We were therefore obliged to receive our friends in our little Hall, 46, Washington-street, which must now be considered the only cradle of liberty in this metropolis.

Soon after the hour appointed for the meeting, the Hall was well filled with the delegates from Auxiliaries—and soon after the President called to order the room was overflowing.

Prayer was offered by Rev. George Storrs of Concord, N. H. A committee was then appointed to receive the names of delegates and of friends who had come to attend the meeting. They have since reported one hundred and sixty in all, the list of whom will be given below.

Rev. S. J. May, the Corresponding Secretary, then read an impressive letter he had just received from William Lloyd Garrison, who is necessarily absent from the city at this time. On motion of Rev. H. C. Wright, seconded by Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, it was voted 'that the excellent letter just read from Mr. Garrison, be published with the other proceedings of this annual meeting.'

Rev. Luther Wright, Dr. A. Farnsworth, Jesse Putnam, Esq. Dexter Fairbanks, and Rev. Mr. Goodyear, were appointed a committee to nominate a list of Officers for the ensuing year.

Mr. May then read the highly acceptable Report, which he had prepared by the direction of the Board of Managers, and it was voted that it be accepted and published, under the supervision of the following Committee—S. J. May, H. C. Wright, C. P. Grosvenor, Wm. Goodell, J. G. Whittier, E. Demond.

The reading of the Report, which occupied more than an hour, elicited some very spirited remarks from sundry gentlemen—Messrs. Wright, Grosvenor, Goodell, Russell, Morse, and others.

A motion was now made to adjourn, upon which the Standing Committee of 'the Free Church' offered to the Society the use of their Hall, corner of Milk and Congress Streets, for their afternoon session. Adjourned to meet at that place at half past 2.

Afternoon meeting was called to order at 3. Prayer was offered by Rev. Orange Scott of Holliston.

Rev. Luther Wright of Woburn, Chairman of the Committee on Nomination, reported the following list of officers, for the ensuing year. The gentlemen named were then elected by a general ticket.

PRESIDENT.

JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, *Boston.*

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Twenty in number.

Samuel J. May, *Corresponding Secretary.*
Henry E. Benson, *Recording Secretary.*
Henry G. Chapman, *Treasurer.*
Samuel E. Sewall, *Auditor.*

COUNSELLORS.

Ten in number.

On motion of Mr. May, Rev. Amos A. Phelps and David L. Child, Esq. were elected honorary members of the Society.

Rev. H. C. Wright offered the following Resolution:

'In the progress of every question of reform, there comes a time, when *a change in measures*, by which it is to be carried forward, is plainly indicated to the most superficial observer of the signs of the times—therefore

Resolved, That as the sin of slavery is no less malignant at our own (Church) doors, than at the South, our present duty is not so much to contend with the avowed advocates of Slavery, who, like Gov. Mc Duffie and Gov. Lumpkin, defend it from the scriptures, and would put to death its opposers (such men being from their own lips condemned) as to expose the unchristian and unstatesman-like views of those who would dwell forever in theory, forbidding practice—who love principles but hate measures—who forbid men to build on the foundation of Christ and the Apostles—who would leave the whole subject of Slavery where the Constitution leaves it, recommending a bad example because it was set by our venerated forefathers.'

This resolution called out a very spirited debate, in which the mover, C. P. Grosvenor, S. J. May, George Russell of Kingston, B. Morse of Lowell, and Wm. Buffum, Jr. of Smithfield, R. I. took part. The resolution was laid upon the table. Adjourned to meet again at 6 o'clock.

The Society met again according to adjournment at Congress Hall, which was filled with friends of both sexes. The President called to order at half past 6.

Rev. Mr. Duncan of Hanover offered prayer.

The resolution which had been discussed in the afternoon, was called up and again laid on the table.

Rev. Professor Follen offered the following resolution, and supported it in a pertinent speech of some length, which we hope he will consent to report, in time for it to be published in the official account of the proceedings.

Resolved, That we consider the Anti-Slavery cause as the cause of Philanthropy, with regard to which all human beings, white men and colored men, citizens and foreigners, men and women, have the same duties and the same rights.

It was adopted unanimously.

William Goodell of Providence introduced the following resolution. It was seconded by Rev. J. V. Himes and passed, no one dissenting.

Resolved, That while some men may with impunity *commit* crimes which others may not boldly *reprove*, without violating the fastidious decorum of the age, we commend our brother William Lloyd Garrison and the Liberator, to the hearts of all who love the gospel of peace and good will to men.

Mr. G. addressed the meeting, on behalf of this resolution in a strain of moral eloquence. He gave a view of the present state of our country, and set forth the need of a steadfast adherence to the great, eternal principles of right—and eulogized the faithfulness and fearlessness of the Editor of the Liberator, as one who is himself familiar with the trials of a great moral conflict.

Rev. C. P. Grosvenor introduced, and ably advocated the following resolution.

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society having incurred great expense, and being now deeply in debt, in consequence of its great exertions in the cause of abolition, we recommend to auxiliary societies and other friends of the cause to contribute liberally in aid of its funds—and that a collection be now taken and a subscription be now opened, for this purpose.

This resolution was sustained also by S. E. Sewall, Esq. of this city, Geo. Russell of Kingston, and Isaac Winslow of Danvers, each in a strain of remark, which evinced a spirit ready to spend and be spent in a cause, to which they were asking others to contribute. In consequence of this appeal, a contribution was immediately gathered of one hundred and five dollars in cash, and in subscriptions amounting to one thousand and forty five dollars for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and seventy five dollars for the Liberator.

The following Resolutions were then offered and supported by Dr. Sylvanus Brown.

Resolved, That the members of this Convention consider their sentiments as Abolitionists to be in strict conformity with the spirit and precept of the Gospel, and that as such we believe it is our religious duty to propogate them and to pray for their universal extension and success.

Resolved, That it is the duty of this Convention and of all true and consistent Abolitionists to ascribe their success to God—and peculiarly at this time it is our duty and privilege with thanksgiving and praise to say, hitherto hath the Lord helped us.

Resolved, That relying on God for wisdom, strength and guidance, we will unitedly and individually implore His Omnipotent help, to eradicate Slavery from our beloved country—in the full belief of that gracious promise that every plant that our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up.

Rev. Orange Scott then introduced the following resolution, but owing to the lateness of the hour, he declined occupying the time of the meeting, more than a few minutes—much fewer than all wished, especially those who heard his speech at the Convention last May, when he thrilled with new delight an audience that had been listening to the unrivalled eloquence of that beloved brother, now far away, to whom his resolution referred.

Resolved, That we mark with grateful reverence the example set before us by the philanthropists of Britian respecting the abolition of slavery, and report to them, with hearts deeply penetrated, the faithfulness and success of the noble spirits they have sent to our aid: and that in view of this entire awakened country, roused by George Thompson to a knowledge of its cherished enmity to emancipation, we owe to him, and to those who granted his aid to our request, to be more and more faithful to the cause to which he sacrificed all his personal interests at the hazard of his life.

Adopted.

For want of time the following resolution was also offered and passed without eliciting any remarks, by Samuel Norris of Salisbury.

Resolved, That this conventiou highly approve of the circulation of the *Anti-Slavery Almanac*, and recommend to all those who sympathize with the oppressed victims of slavery, to assist in scattering it as widely as possible.

Adopted.

Rev. Mr. Storrs of Concord, N. H., offered the following, and in a few minutes said much that was worth preserving.

Resolved, That, inasmuch as the *daily practice* of Abolitionists ought to bear in every possible way upon this subject, we recommend the establishment as soon as hereafter may be, of a free labor store in Boston, which shall supply the auxiliary societies throughout the state with the means of supplying such stores in the vicinity of each society.

By Rev. J. V. Himes of Boston,

Resolved, That freedom of speech and freedom of the press, being the only sure foundations of free institutions, the recent attempts throughout our country to prevent and interrupt the meetings, and suppress the publications of abolitionists, by lawless violence, ought to be looked on with horror and alarm by every friend of his country, of liberty, and of the human race.

The audience then rose and united in singing to the tune of Old Hundred—

'From all that dwell below the skies,' &c.

We have neither time nor room for comments upon the proceedings of this important Anniversary. But they will soon speak for themselves in the official publication of them, that is to be issued as soon as practicable. We have only to add that we wish all the gentlemen who addressed the meeting would furnish the publishing committee with the substance of their remarks.

[From the New-York Evangelist.]

Feelings in a Slave State.

Extract of a letter to the editor, from a Presbyterian minister in one of the slaveholding states, dated December, 1835.

Dear Brother Leavitt—You have seen before now the account of our doings here on the subject of slavery. Many regard the late proceedings of the lovers of slavery as the dying struggle. But it is impossible to foresee how soon their fury may break out again. I feel that my life is in danger every day, but I desire to hold my life and all things else at the entire disposal of my Lord and Master. Suffice it to say, I have read a new chapter in the history of slavery.

And now, brother Leavitt, my object in writing to you, is to inquire if there be not some *common ground*, on which all the real enemies of slavery may unite. I say, "real enemies of slavery," for I have learned by painful experience, that not all the *professed* enemies of slavery really desire its destruction. I need not tell you that my own views and feelings on this subject have undergone a considerable change within the last two years. But I cannot adopt the sentiments of the anti-slavery brethren, in all their extent. You will think perhaps, that having already come over so far, it is but waiting a little longer, and I shall come quite over to your ground. But I think not. For, 1st. I had not formerly examined the subject.—2d. I did not desire to know the truth, inasmuch as I was determined to resist abolition. And, 3d, from other causes, and especially from the most abominable misrepresentations, I was prejudiced—greatly so—against abolitionists. The reverse of all this is the fact now. My sympathies are all with the slaves and with their friends, the abolitionists. But yet, I am no nearer adopting *one* of their cardinal principles—that of *Immediate Unconditional Emancipation*. My sentiments on this point you already know.

Now that some of the features of slavery ought not to exist a single moment, we agree. Buying and selling, separating families, punishing without law, &c., that these things ought to cease *at once*, and to be *immediately* abolished, I am sure. The laws ought to be immediately so modified as to place the rights of the slaves beyond the caprice of each individual master. The marriage union ought to be sacred, alike to the slave as to the master. In short, *the principle* of slavery ought to be immediately abandoned, and we ought immediately to set about the great work of abolishing the system itself. And in this work we ought to proceed in all good conscience, until *it is finished*, and not a vestige of slavery remains to curse the land. If this be abolitionism, then I am an abolitionist, but beyond this I cannot go.

Now let me ask, are not the sentiments I have given above, those for which you mainly contend? Are we not agreed in the main principle, and differing only in some matters of expediency? Brother L., I do feel it infinitely desirable that all the opponents of slavery should find some common ground, on which they may rally for the great battle against the common enemy—slavery. The struggle will be a tremendous one, such as this generation never witnessed. I doubt even, if the horrors of the French revolution will compare with the scenes that are to be enacted in this land.—The spirit of slavery is a hellish spirit—ruthless, cruel and unprincipled in a most superlative degree. I have witnessed things said and done here, by respectable men, yea, Christian professors, which, unless I had seen, I could never have believed.

My sheet is not going to let me say as much as I would. But I must add that even though you cannot change your views to correspond with mine, yet PERSEVERE! Be not dismayed, but fight on. You are ten thousand times nearer right than those who, in the east, oppose you. I sometimes feel as though I would go on a crusade through New-England, to preach on the subject. Were the free states *unanimous*, would they lift up their voice, and as one man testify against slavery, and demand, in the name of insulted humanity, its repeal, it could not last five years. The South may bluster and threaten, but I know this, God has decreed the downfall of slavery in this land, and that before long. And for one, I am enlisted for the war, while life lasts, if need be. Whether I shall remain here will depend on the future. A mighty impulse is at work to drive me off. All that falsehood and detraction can do will be done. But with the help of God I will not fear what man can do unto me."

THE REPLY.

Dear Brother—The spirit and general sentiments of your excellent letter have given me much pleasure, and I take great pleasure in replying to your inquiries. In regard to the personal request contained, I doubt whether it will be in my power, consistently with other claims, to insert the article referred to. It is an interesting document, but would occupy more space than we can afford to documents of a local character, and that are not fully such as we can approve. The ungenerous use already made of the one in question, by eastern cavillers, shows us the importance of caution in this matter. We shall probably, publish with pleasure the next document from the same quarter.

On the question of "common ground," we presume our brother hardly expects the Anti-Slavery Society to change their ground, at this hour of the day. After having taken their ground so deliberately, and been so often driven to re-examine it, after having suffered so much for it, and seen it gaining such unlooked-for triumphs, they were unworthy champions of a great moral and national reform, could they now retreat to a lower and less effective position. No, brother, IMMEDIATISM is the true doctrine, and it is that which has done the work. The clamors of the friends of slavery are proof enough to show *what they fear*—what they know will destroy their idol. It is the principle that SLAVERY IS SIN, and the corollary, that being a sin it ought to be *immediately* abandoned by all who are guilty of it—by legislatures who enact it and individuals who commit it.

In regard to the apprehended difference between the abolitionists and yourself, there are *two distinctions* to be observed, by which you will be able to judge what the difference is, and I think you will see that the abolitionists are consistent, and you are inconsistent, in carrying out the great fundamental doctrines on which we are agreed.

The first is the distinction between a slave and a servant. This is studiously kept out of view by all our northern apologists for slavery, and by all those who quote the Bible as sanctioning slavery. You will find the distinction well laid down by Blackstone and Kent, in their respective commentaries. "A slave," says the Louisiana code, "is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs: the master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, his labor: he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing but which must belong to his master.—*Code, Art.* 3. "Slaves," says the statute of South Carolina, shall be deemed in law to be chattels personal to all intents and purposes whatsoever."—*Berrard's Digest, p.* 228. "In contemplation of law," says Chancellor Kent, "slaves are considered as things, or property, rather than persons." *Kent Com. vol.* 1, *p.* 253. "A slave," says Blackstone, "the moment he arrives in England, falls under the protection of the laws, and so far becomes a freeman."—*Black. Com.* i. 217.

A servant is one who is bound to render service to another; and it makes no difference whether he is bound by his own voluntary contract or by operation of law.—Here the master has a right to the service, and a property in that service, as in the case of a minor child, or an apprentice, or even a slave. All slaves are servants, but all servants are not slaves; servant being the generic term. Slavery, then, IS PROPERTY IN MAN. All the adjuncts of slavery grow out of this. Destroy this, and slavery is no more. Substitute any other obligation of service, and though it may be ever so unjust, or oppressive, or absurd, yet it is not slavery.

It follows from the very definition of slavery, that a slave can have no personal rights legally secured to him. His person being by law the property of the master, all his personal rights vest in his master. The moment you admit a person to become a party to vindicate personal rights in a court of justice, he ceases to be a slave. The slave trade is a necessary incident to slavery. Property that cannot be bought and sold ceases to be property. An advocate of slavery (A. D. Sims of South Carolina) in a pamphlet published in 1834, thus argues the matter: "Slaves are tightly made property, and hence we infer the right of transfer as an incident."

For the same reason, slaves cannot contract legal marriage. If they could, they would be no longer slaves. The husband and wife acquire by marriage, under the law of God, a right in each other's person incompatible with the master's alleged right of property. So argues Mr. Sims, "Slaves cannot make a civil contract; as to this, they are entirely under the power and control of the master. Marriage among slaves, therefore, is not a legal contract," and "if the master be unfortunate merely, and the slave be sold and the marriage tie be broken, then if guilt attach at all, it is to the slave, who formed the connection cognizant of the uncertainty."

And as to the pursuit of happiness, generally, he says the slave "is not allowed to seek his happiness and personal comfort according to the suggestions of his own will," for "this would be to abolish slavery."

Thus you see that these oppressive consequences are inseparable from slavery—that the "principle of slavery" is property in man, and that what you would have done *immediately* cannot be done but by the immediate abolition of slavery. I think, therefore that you and I are agreed, that it is the duty of the legislature or the people in the state of —— immediately to abolish slavery in that state; although it is possible we might differ somewhat as to the arrangements which they ought to establish consequent upon such abolition.

2. The other distinction to be observed is between slavery as a system and slaveholding as an act—including also that between the duty of the government to abolish slavery by law and the duty of individual slaveholders to emancipate their own slaves by their own act. It is plain that a system may be "a great moral and political evil" as established by law, while at the same time individuals might not be guilty of any sin in the matter, unless it be that of not using their influence as citizens to have the evil corrected. But holding a man as property assumes also the character of an individual act and a personal wrong. Whoever holds a man as a slave, robs that man of his highest property—his own person. The degree of his guilt in the sight of God depends on a variety of circumstances, his means of knowing the truth, &c. But the ACT of slaveholding is, doubtless, nothing less than robbery in the highest degree.—The pickpocket, the burglar, the highwayman, the pirate, the seducer, the adulterer, all leave to their victim what the slaveholder takes, the ownership of himself. Each individual slaveholder, then, has a duty to perform, out of a wise regard to his own standing with his Maker, to clear himself from sin. And this he cannot do but by ceasing to be a slaveholder. While he remains so, he continues that ACT of holding property in man. No human laws can bind a man to sin, or furnish an excuse for continued transgression of God's laws.—Hence the duty of individual slaveholders is immediate emancipation, let the laws be what they may. At the same time, humanity (to say nothing of what they owe for past services unrequited) binds masters to do *the best they can* to secure the welfare, and promote the happiness and improvement of those they emancipate. But no care for their comfort, no liberality, no sleepless anxiety, nor tears, nor alms, can satisfy an enlightened conscience, or meet the claims of God's law, while the act is continued, of holding men as property.

"Now are we agreed in the main principles, and differing only in some matters of expediency?" Or are you fighting with "the system," while we do battle with the personal ACT, grappling the slaveholder's conscience with hooks of steel, and holding him to the question of immediately clearing himself from the personal guilt of robbing his neighbor? Let this be the "common ground," and we give you our right hand, for here alone we are impregnable. Only this can cower the "hellish, ruthless, cruel and unprincipled" spirit of slavery. By the rapid extension of this, and in no other way, can the horrors you anticipate be averted from our beloved country. Let slavery be abolished by this, and you bind all our nation together in bonds of love and gratitude. Extinguish this, and give passion sway, and—may God avert it. Let me hear from you again, and believe me your brother,

JOSHUA LEAVITT.

Abolition in the District of Columbia.

MONDAY, Jan. 18, 1836.

The time was chiefly taken up with the reception of some dozen of Abolition petitions. A motion was yesterday made on each for its rejection, and that motion as regularly laid on the table by the usual vote.

TUESDAY, Jan. 19.

The "agitating subject" prevailed in both houses.

IN SENATE, the petition from Ohio came up, the question thereon being Mr. Calhoun's motion "not to receive," and Mr. Buchanan's, "that the petition being read, the prayer thereof be rejected."

Mr. LEIGH of Virginia, referred to Dr. Channing's book as evidence of the feeling prevalent at the North, and called upon all, as they value the union, to resist the Abolitionists.

Mr. WRIGHT of New-York, regretted that these petitions had not been permitted to pass silently, as before. Every discussion increased the excitement. It is inexpedient to discuss the constitutionality of the right of congress to abolish slavery in the District. He referred to the proceedings at Utica as evidence of the general feeling in New-York, and the determination to put down the excitement. The Oneida county grand jury had censured some of the citizens who forcibly entered the Standard Office and threw the types into the street.—Mr Calhoun, King, Moore, and others took part in the debate, and before taking the question the senate adjourned.

In the House, Mr Jarvis' resolutions with Mr Wise and Mr Glascock's substitutes were the special order of the day. Mr Halsey of Georgia, Mr Peyton of Tennessee, and Baldwin of Kentucky, made speeches. Mr Baldwin said the rule of property, was applicable in the case—That private property should not be taken for the public service, without being paid for, ☞ "UNLESS THE POSITION IS TAKEN THAT THE NEGROES OF THE SOUTH ARE NOT THE PROPERTY of the slaveholders."*

Before he had finished the house adjourned.

*Mark that point. Man *cannot be* the property of man. Every American knows that. Press your advances at the very point where your opponent admits he has no defence.—ED. N. Y. EVAN.

[From the N. Y. Evangelist.]

A Lamentable Fact,

SHOWING THE EFFECTS OF SLAVERY UPON PROFESSORS OF RELIGION.

A man, who pursued his theological education at Andover, Mass., emigrated to the south as a preacher of the gospel. There he labored in his sacred profession, for a time, with prospects of usefulness. At length he made love to a rich widow, who had been the wife of an opulent planter, and who was the holder of a large number of human beings in bondage. They married.—Shortly the individual began to intermit, and finally, to relinquish preaching. He could live upon the income of the plantation!—Why then should he preach the gospel!! This couple, at length, with their children, took a passage for France, visited England, &c. Now mark. At the time of the interesting anniversary of the charity schools in London, when St. Paul's is thronged with Christians, of various denominations, and the eminent philanthropists of the day, to witness the solemn and heart-stirring services, and when tickets, procured often by the favor of the nobility and ecclesiastical dignitaries, are worth several guineas each, the aforesaid ex-preacher was presented with a

family ticket, procured with great trouble. It so happened that a famous horse-race was announced for the same day as the anniversary of the charity scholars at St. Paul's. Judge of the surprise of the person who had procured the tickets for the cathedral, to find that neither his friend, nor any member of his family were present; and of his deep regret to learn, afterwards, that instead of using the ticket for the interesting occasion, he actually went with his family to Epsom races! I have the name of this man, but I forbear to give it to the public. Let us weep over his declension, and mourn at the sad effects of living in a slaveholding community. No wonder ministers of the gospel are on vigilance committees, and adopting such resolutions as we have read, when the influences of slavery are so corrupting to the moral sense and Christian character.

CONGRESS.

WEDNESDAY, Jan. 20.

Mr. Jarvis' resolutions, with Mr. Wise's amendment came up, and Mr. Bouldin, of Va., finished his speech.

He hoped there was no serious intention of pressing this subject upon Congress. He threw back the charges brought against the character of the slaveholders. The memorials misrepresented them. The negroes were not ill used at the south; and so far from having injustice done to them by their removal from Africa, all investigation proved that the present colored race in the south were far better off than their brethren were in Africa, or than their ancestors ever were. The memorialists complained of insecurity of residence in the south. It was without foundation. There was no part of the world where the traveller or the resident was more secure than in the south, both in life and in property. They were also misrepresented in another thing; that was in the sufferings of the slaves. He would appeal to the heart-rending picture drawn of the condition of the poor in the city of New-York, by a gentleman from that state last session, (Mr. Ferris,) on account of the high price of coal, where poor creatures, during the most inclement weather, could gather only a little saw-dust for fuel. Nothing of that kind was ever seen in the south. He knew ladies who often visited their sick slaves, and sat up with them from midnight to daybreak. There was more security for property in the south than in the north; and Mr. B. referred to a number of instances in proof of this position. He said there was a great mistake in regard to the dishonesty of the slave population. He did not deny that they would steal, but not so generally and desperately as that vice prevailed in other places. The relation between master and slave combined many blessings. He would not defend slavery in the abstract. If it could be got rid of to benefit the slaves themselves, to the preservation of the rights of the owners, and without infringing on the rights of the constitution, he would cheerfully accede to it; but it was impossible. What could be done with the slaves themselves?

Mr. Pickens, of S. C., commenced another speech, but gave way at 4 o'clock for the New-York Relief Bill, which occupied the remainder of the day.

The correspondent of the Daily Advertiser congratulated himself that the "agitating subject" was at rest. He says,

The Senate this morning after a few words from Mr. Moore of Alabama, killed the abolition monster, or at least wounded him sufficiently to cause him to keep still for a few days, by moving the postponement of the whole subject for the present. The mover, was Mr. Clay, who, of all men in the nation, is the only one that can calm the elements of sectional discord. To-day the storm of debate like an angry sky looked "red and lowering." Mr. Clay came pointing beyond the clouds to the rainbow peace, and the effect was that a sunlike horizon was spread over the Senate.

But the gentlemen of the south could not even keep still, even "for a few days."

THURSDAY, Jan. 21.

In Senate, Mr. Tyler, of Va., submitted the following:

Resolved, That to alter, change, or abolish the rights of property in the District of Columbia without the consent of the owners, would be unjust and despotic and in violation of the constitution of the United States.

Resolved further, That even with such consent, to interfere with the subject of slavery not only without, but against the consent of the people of Maryland and Virginia would be in flagrant violation of the public faith, an abuse of the trust conferred in Congress by the cession, and hazardous to the peace and security of those two states.

Resolved further, That such proceedings would sap the foundation of our constitutional system, which is based on the condition of things, as they existed at the time of the adoption of the constitution, and which cannot be altered in so material a point, without disturbing the principle of compromise, out of which the government originated.

Mr. T. moved that the resolutions should be printed, in order that the attention of the Senate might be called to the subject.—Agreed to.

Sundry bills and resolutions were presented and acted on in various ways, and Mr. Benton's resolutions further discussed.

In the House, the memorial presented by Mr. Adams was further postponed, against the earnest remonstrance of Mr. A.

MR. JARVIS' RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. Pickens finished his speech. He illustrated the state of public opinion on this subject, as it existed not only in the non-slaveholding states of the Union, but all over the civilized world, with a view to shew the prejudices which had every where been raised against slaveholders. In England and France, there was not a publication from the enlightened Edinburgh Review to the lowest Jeremy Bentham publication, that had not for twelve months past teemed with abuse against the southern people of this confederacy.

He alluded to the attempt that had been made by that prince of demagogues, Daniel O'Connell, to excite the prejudices of the world against this nation, and to the blustering declamation of that individual about universal emancipation and universal equality,—an individual who was receiving an income of sixteen thousand pounds sterling, every shilling of which was wrung from the hard earnings of the poor. He [Mr. P.] regretted that upon this side of the Atlantic, a gentleman distinguished for his talents and learning, had thought proper to raise a similar cry. He alluded to a recent publication in Boston, from the pen of Dr. Channing. He regretted that that gentleman had come forward to play the part of a low Irish demagogue, and to raise the prejudices of the people against the institutions of their country.

All these circumstances proclaimed to the people of the south that sooner or later, a great issue was to be made on the question of slavery, and the south must prepare themselves for it. It was in vain to disguise it—the issue must be met—there was no alternative. When he looked abroad and saw these things, he was almost led to tremble for the fate of his country. Let not the people of the south deceive themselves.—They must prepare for a great and final contest: they must prepare for a struggle with the great and the powerful: they must prepare to contend over the graves of their fathers for all they hold dear; or else they must consent basely to abandon their country that it might become a black colony, and to seek a refuge in the wilderness of the west.

He expressed his approbation of the course which had been taken by the Legislatures of Virginia and Maryland, in declaring that it was unconstitutional to interfere with the question of slavery in the District of Columbia. As to the constitutional power of the government to interfere with slavery in the states and territories, he disdained now to discuss that question; but at the same time he thought it important to dwell upon the power of the government in the District.

Mr. P. here entered into a long argument on the constitutional question, and contended that there was a total absence of all authority to interfere, as claimed under the constitution of the United States. In support of his argument, he commented at much length on the acts of cession by the states of Virginia and Maryland.

It had been said, that slavery was a foul blot upon the national escutcheon. It had been declared that "all men were born equal." Let us examine this great principle. What was the object of the great author of this sentiment, "that all men were created equal?" Let us look at it in a practical view. Was it intended to mean, that all men were created of equal physical strength or stature? Certainly not. Was it then that all men were born free? This was not the fact. Since the first ages of the world, from the time in which it was declared that the sins of some persons should be visited upon the third and fourth generations, there had been an elected few who were the peculiar receptacles of the blessings of an all-wise Creator. This was the decree of the Almighty, and it was not for us to arraign it. The meaning of the sentence then obviously was, that all men were born with equal political privileges. This was true as an abstract dogma, but like all abstract truths, it had no practical existence. Mr. P. proceeded to illustrate this position at length.

He laid down the broad political truth, and he challenged its contradiction, that there never yet was a state of society upon earth which had existed long enough to become regularly organized and to pass into an era, where one class did not practically and substantially own the other. The great classification which took place in all societies of capitalists and laborers proved this truth. Let not men of the north start at this: we were yet in the infancy of our career; society had not yet settled down into its true classification. Let us live to an era and then we should discover the truth of this doctrine. The classification was into capitalists and laborers, and if the latter held the power, the country must be in a state of revolution, and they would transfer the property from those who had it, unless those who had it appealed to the sword and a standing army. This was the history of the civilized world; there was not a civilized government upon earth, that was not standing upon this principle. Look at England—the House of Lords represented the landed capital—the House of Commons the commercial and manufacturing capital—the King held the balance of power—and they made the laborers produce the greatest income possible to divide it among themselves. And this was the great question between the north and the south—hence it was that the people of the north required a strong Federal Government, and the people of the south a weak one.

Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts, next addressed the House. He expressed his astonishment that the question had ever been raised as to the interference by Congress with slavery in the states. There never had been a pretence set up that Congress had such power.

Mr. H. replied at length on the constitutional question, contending that full and unequivocal power was given to Congress by the constitution, to interfere with slavery in the District.

He defended the character of Dr. Channing—repelled the idea that that gentleman was playing the second to a low Irish demagogue. He played second to no man on earth. He was one of the great lights, not of Boston, of Massachusetts, or of America, but of the whole civilized world, extending its bounds and laboring for its benefits. He (Mr. H.) had no objection that the gentleman from South Carolina should show if he could, that Dr. Channing was wrong in the course he had taken, but he would never accomplish that object through the medium of opprobious epithets.

He replied to Mr. Peyton of Tenn., in regard to the demand upon the Governor of Alabama upon the Governor of New-York.

Mr. Peyton the other day, in the course of his remarks contending that the Abolitionist demanded should be given up, (alluding to the call made by the Governor of Alabama for Mr. Williams.) Mr. Hoar spoke at length on the subject, contending that the passage of such a law would be the extreme of slavery, and enforced his arguments by many forcible illustrations. He was listened to with the most profound attention by members from the south as well as from the north. He proceeded to consider some of the objections which had been raised against the reception of these petitions and memorials.*

Mr. H. still held the floor, when at 4 o'clock, on motion of Mr. Grennell, of Mass., the House adjourned.

MONDAY, Jan. 25th.

Among the petitions presented in the Senate was one by Mr. Buchanan, from a meeting of the citizens of Connelsville, Pa., denying the right of Congress to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia.—This was ordered to be printed, without objection. After sundry reports and resolutions were received, the rest of the time was occupied by Mr. Southard in a speech on Mr. Benton's resolutions.

In the House, the Speaker called, by States, for petitions.

Mr. J. Q. Adams presented one from 106 ladies in Mansfield, Mass., for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District, and moved that it be referred to a select committee, with instructions to report thereon.

Mr. Hammond moved that the petition be not received.

Mr. Adams was proceeding to give his reasons why the petition should be received, when a question was made whether the motion was debateable. The Speaker decided that it was debateable. Mr. Craig appealed, and the House sustained the chair, 141 to 59.

Mr. Adams then proceeded to state the circumstances under which the petition was sent to him. He was requested not only to present it, but to support its prayer. He wished to have it referred and a report made upon it, with a view to convince the petitioners themselves that their views were erroneous. He wished all the considerations which go to justify the House in denying the prayer of the petition to be presented in the most powerful manner. He believed that a committee of this House would frame a report which would satisfy the reasonable, the just, and the humane, that the prayer of the petitioners ought not to be granted. He begged the majority of the House and those who had the control of that majority, to afford an opportunity for thus presenting in proper form, the great, the powerful, the convincing reasons, in opposition to the wishes of the petitioners. The Speaker, who had the power of appointment, would select such a committee as would be best suited to give the country sound and solid reasons for refusing to grant the petitions. This would leave the right of petition untouched, and would take from the abolitionists the power of saying that the right of petition and of free discussion had been abolished by this House.

The motion to receive the petiton was then laid on the table. Mr. Williams of N. C. regretted that the yeas and nays had not been taken, Mr. Adams said it was no matter, he had another petition. Whereupon

Mr. A. then presented a petition from sundry citizens of Western Pennsylvania, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Glascock protested against the course taken by Mr. Adams, and charged upon him the purpose of agitating the House, and provoking the members from the south. He had hoped that gentleman, who professed a disposition to quiet the agitation prevailing on this subject, would defer the presentation of their abolition petitions, till the House had acted upon the Resolutions on this subject now before them. What purpose but that of agitation and excitement could the gentleman from Massachusetts have in urging another petition upon the House the moment after the House had determined to lay the question on the table. He went on to controvert the position of Mr. Adams that the non-reception of a petition would deny or impair the right of petition.

The motion to receive was then laid on the table.

Mr. A. then presented another petition from 400 inhabitants of Pa. and moved that it be received. He said he did not know the petitioners, nor why they sent their petitions to him, unless it was because he had made the declaration that he would present any petition couched in respectful language.—He went on to reply to the argument of the gentleman from Ga., (Mr. Glascock,) maintaing at length, and vehemently, that a refusal to receive was equivalent to the denial of the right of petition. As to the resolutions spoken of by the gentleman from Ga., he now warned that gentleman and the House, that he should not be restrained from presenting and advocating petitions, by the adoption of those or any other resolutions. He denied the right of the House to adopt resolutions restricting discussion of the right of presenting petitions on any subject. Mr. A. passed from this point to a dissertation, rather pathetic, on the subject of the domestic trade, as it exists in this District, under the very eyes of Congress.

The Chair here interposed, and pronounced that the gentleman was not in order in going beyond the question.

Mr. Mann followed and remarked with some point and severity upon the agitating course pursued by Mr. Adams. The gentleman he said, might present his petitions, and discharge his duty to his constituents in that respect, without making an abolition speech upon each separate petition, as he presented it. The question in all its depth and breadth, was already before the House, and under discussion, upon the resolution of the gentleman from Maine. It was, therefore unnecessary for any other purpose than agitation, for the gentleman to consume the time of the House, and raise debates, on each of the petitions he might be able to collect.

On motion of Mr. Howard the motion of reception was laid on the table.

Mr. Cushing presented several other petitions from inhabitants of Massachusetts, and proceeded briefly to state his views of the question of reception. The petitions were from persons of intelligence and character—their views were honestly formed, and their course governed by a sense of religious duty. His own course had always been opposed to their wishes on this question; and, in public and in private, he had zealously defended the constitutional rights of the South. He confessed, however, that since he came here his zeal on that side of the question had been somewhat abated by the resolutions, speeches and declarations he had heard on the floor. But should it become his duty to enter into the discussion, he should be consistent with himself, and with the letter of the constitution, and with the spirit of the divers compromises of interests and opinions incorporated into the constitution. He had been repeatedly called upon to vote upon these petitions, and had contented himself with simply saying aye or no, leaving his motives represented as chance might direct. But the speeches made in that House had gone to the world for good or evil. They had become history, and would not be expunged from our annals. We were goaded into debate. Discussion was forced upon us, and resolutions dictated to us in terms which he could not approve. There was no escape from debate, except by relinquishing the right of petition and the sacred right of free discussion. For, if the House passed the resolutions of the gentleman from Maine, his mouth would be shut, and he would be told that certain topics he must not speak of in that House. When the proper time came, he would consider whether the House had the power to pass such a resolution. He thought the question of reception should be decided before the question whether the petition be granted.

Mr. Hammond said, when the resolutions were taken up, and he hoped they would be taken up very soon—he would present his views on the subject at length. Till then no petition on slavery should be received, without a vote of the House. He had risen to notice a remark of the gentleman which must have been intended to apply to himself, or to some gentleman from the south, who acted with him. The gentleman said he was "goaded" into a discussion of the question. Who has goaded him? Have we brought the question here for discussion? have we presented petitions, and urged their consideration upon the House? On the contrary, have we not taken every step to get clear of the petitions? The gentleman presents a petition and makes a speech upon it. Who goads him to make that speech? It was a little remarkable that while the gentleman was deprecating discussions, he complained of the means we were taking to restrain discussion. He moved that the motion of reception be laid on the table, which was agreed to.

Mr. Cushing then presented another petition of the same purport from sundry inhabitants of Mass., and spoke at length in support of its reception—taking an elaborate and able view of the question of reception, as connected with the right of petition.

Mr. Garland, of Virginia replied at some length. His main argument was that the right of petition was necessarily subject to restrictions, in consequence of the nature of our system. The states, in their domestic policy, were independent of each other, and Massachusetts, whatever might be her course of religious duty, had no right to petition for alterations in the domestic policy of Virginia. The right of petition, moreover, as he contended, was confined to "petitions for the redress of grievances," and it would not be contended that the existence of slavery in Virginia was a grievance to the people of Massachusetts. The argument applied as well to the District as to Virginia or Maryland, which states, on ceding the ten miles square, secured to individuals all the rights of property which they possessed as citizens of Virginia or Maryland.

Mr. Hammond expressed an intention to reply to the gentleman from Massachusetts, and the hour being late, moved an adjournment, and at four o'clock, the House adjourned.

What of these systems of education shall we hand down to posterity?

HERALD OF FREEDOM.

CONCORD: FEBRUARY 6, 1836.

All men are created equal; are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.

DECLARATION OF 1776.

All men are born equally free and independent: and have certain, natural, essential and inherent rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and LIBERTY: acquiring, possessing and protecting property.—CONSTITUTION OF N. H.

Governor Bernard and Governor Everett.

These two personages are worthy each other's company. The one was a royal magistrate, faithful only to the king from whom he received his office; the other is a truckling dough-face, courting the good will of the slaveholder, the fierce oppressor of his race, by a sacrifice of the dearest rights of a free people. The sentiments, which, in the extract below, are put into the mouth of the former, are the sentiments of both. The coincidence, not only of sentiment but of language, between Gov. Bernard's speech and the late message of the present classical governor of Massachusetts, is so striking that some may think they were both written by the same hand. This coincidence, however, may be accounted for without thus charging the orator of Plymouth, and of 'Lexington plains,' with plagiarism:—both productions were dictated by the same spirit. But in whatever manner we account for the agreement, one thing is certain, the reasoning adopted by Edward Everett is as applicable to the discussions which were earnestly carried on previous to the Declaration of American Independence, as it is to the present discussions concerning Slavery. If the arguments which he employs, had governed our fathers then, where would now be our freedom and our rights? If discussion had stopped, the revolution would have stopped, and we should now have been colonies of Great Britain. But the discussion went on despite of Bernard or Gage, and liberty was secured to the *whites* to the sad discomfiture of the royalists and aristocrats. So with regard to slavery. Should discussion cease, the system would be perpetuated; the chains, on which Truth is now falling like fire from Heaven, to melt and break asunder, would become more strengthened. There would be no hope to the slave, but in a resort to physical violence, and discussions will not cease. There is a spirit abroad which gubernatorial influences cannot destroy. We presume Gov. Everett's recommendation and reasoning will produce about as much effect on the people of Massachusetts, as do those of his predecessor, whose speech we shall now proceed to give.

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Extract from a Speech *supposed* to have been prepared by SIR FRANCIS BERNARD, Governor of Massachusetts, to be delivered to the General Court of that Province, the May session of the next year after the passage of the Stamp Act. The news of the repeal of this obnoxious act was received before the Court met, and the Speech was made to conform to circumstances.*

"As the genius of our institutions and the character of the people of this Province are entirely repugnant to laws impairing the *liberty of speech and of the press*, even for the sake of repressing its abuses, the PATRIOTISM *of all classes of citizens must be invoked to* ABSTAIN FROM DISCUSSION, WHICH, BY EXASPERATING THE PARLIAMENT OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY, CAN HAVE NO OTHER EFFECT THAN TO RENDER MORE OPPRESSIVE THE CONDITION OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES; WHICH IF NOT ABANDONED, THERE IS GREAT REASON TO FEAR, WILL PROVE THE ROCK ON WHICH OUR UNION TO GREAT-BRITAIN WILL SPLIT. Such a disastrous consummation, in addition to all its remediless political evils to this province and every colony in America, would scarcely fail, sooner or later, to bring on a war of subjugation on the part of Great Britain. On the contrary, a conciliatory forbearance on her part with regard to the right of Parliament over these Colonies, would strengthen the hands of a numerous class of citizens in England, although they do not admit this right, and whose voice has often been heard against its exercise, yet who are struck down and silenced by the agitation of the question and the bold discussion of it by those who call themselves 'Sons of Liberty' in the colonies; and it would leave this painful subject where the British constitution leaves it, with the Parliament by whom the right is asserted, and in the hands of an all wise providence, who in his own good time, is able to cause this assumed RIGHT to be abandoned, like the slavery of the ancient world, under the gradual operation of the gentle spirit of Christianity."

We will now give Gov. Everett's message address in order that our readers may see the remarkable agreement of thought and language between that document and the one above.

"As the genius of our institutions and the character of our people are entirely repugnant to laws impairing *the liberty of speech and of the press*, even for the sake of repressing its abuses, the PATRIOTISM *of all classes of citizens must be invoked* TO ABSTAIN FROM A DISCUSSION, WHICH, BY EXASPERATING THE MASTER, CAN HAVE NO OTHER EFFECT THAN TO RENDER MORE OPPRESSIVE THE CONDITION OF THE SLAVE; AND WHICH, IF NOT ABANDONED, THERE IS GREAT REASON TO FEAR, WILL PROVE THE ROCK ON WHICH THE UNION WILL SPLIT. Such a disastrous consummation, in addition to all its remediless political evils, to every state in the union, could scarcely fail, sooner or later, to bring on a war of extermination in the slaveholding states. On the contrary, a conciliatory forbearance with regard to the subject, in the non-slaveholding states, would strengthen the hands of a numerous class of citizens at the south, who desire the removal of the evil; whose voice has often been heard for abolition in legislative assemblies; but who are struck down and silenced by the agitation of the question abroad; and it would leave this painful subject where the constitution leaves it, with the states where it exists, and in the hands of an all wise providence, who in his own good time, is able to cause it to disappear, like the slavery of the ancient world, under the gradual operation of the gentle spirit of christianity."

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*Gov. Bernard possessed no talents for conciliating, and the spirit of freedom gathered strength from the open manner he attempted to crush it. His speech after the repeal of the stamp act was by no means calculated to assuage the angry passions which had lately been excited. He was the principle means of bringing the troops to Boston that he might overawe the people; and it was owing to him, that they were continued in the town."—*Allen's Biog. Dict.* Art. BERNARD.

A Timely Reminiscence.

We made some passing remarks in our last on a slavish speech delivered by that demagogue and political aspirant, CHARLES G. ATHERTON. We did it, not so much to refute his unfounded calumnies and misrepresentations, for they bear upon their face their own refutation, as to shew our readers the truckling and malign spirit of some of our opponents, and the expedients and tricks and base compliances to which an excessive ambition will lead men to resort. Mr. Atherton appears to have become a complete bondman to his desire for popular honors and distinction. His talents, his time, his most strenuous exertions are devoted to catch the favor of the people. This was evidently the object of the speech from which we gave extracts. It was for political effect. In order to gain the good will of the South, and help on his ambitious views, he was willing to denounce men who are contending for those sacred and inalienable rights, to enjoy which the Pilgrims exiled themselves to a strange land; and in defence of which the patriots of the Revolution fought and

bled. His principles are the principles of the majority, whether they be those of justice or oppression. We warn all parties and all sects to be wary of him. He will prove true to them and their cause no longer than it will subserve his aspiring aims so to do. And we warn him to be more humble in his views lest his

"vaulting ambition overleap itself
And fall on t'other side."

In view of the sentiments which we gave last week from Mr. Atherton's speech, conjoined with the deep interest which attaches itself to reminiscences concerning the early history of our government, the following communication will be read with high satisfaction. The speech which is introduced is the only one which has come down to us, of all those which the exciting occasion on which this was delivered, undoubtedly drew forth. What will the perverse grandson of the author say to it? We should think the blush of conscious degeneracy would mantle his brow while he reads it. He ought to feel abashed and humbled on comparing it with his own sycophancy and falsehood. If that does not reach him, nothing but the bastinado will. May its perusal do him much good.

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[For the Herald of Freedom.]

Federal Constitution--Slavery--Mr. Atherton's Speech.

The opposition of the people of New-Hampshire to the Federal Constitution when it was originally proposed to the Convention elected to decide on its ratification or rejection, is not generally known. One of the greatest objections to the instrument was an apprehension that it recognised Slavery as it existed in the Southern States. The members of the Convention had been patriots of the revolution, and many of them had been conspicuous actors either in the field or cabinet. They had fought for freedom and knew its value. Having escaped from what they deemed a state of servitude, they were determined not to be accessary to the slavery of others. They had again and again protested against the principle of slavery; they had assented to the Declaration of Independence, "that ALL men are created equal," and they had in still stronger terms in their State Constitution, adopted five years before the Federal Constitution, declared that "All men are born equally free and independent," and have a right of enjoying and defending life and LIBERTY."

When therefore the following clause of the United States Constitution was read to the New-Hampshire Convention, there was a strong opposition to it by several distinguished members.

"The Migration or Importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."—*Const. of U. S.*, Art. I. Sect. 9.

Mr. Dow, the delegate from Weare, who belonged to the denomination of Friends, spoke very sensibly and feelingly against this paragraph. Several members on the other side spoke in favor of it, with remarks on what Mr. Dow had said, after which, the Hon. Joshua Atherton, of Amherst, spoke as follows.

"Mr. President.—I cannot be of the opinion of the Honorable Gentleman who last spoke, that this paragraph is either so unjust, or so inoffensive, as they seem to imagine, or that the objections to it are so totally void of foundation. The idea that strikes those who are opposed to this clause so disagreeably and so forcibly, is, hereby it is conceived (if we ratify the Constitution) that we become *Consenters to*, and *Partakers in*, the sin and guilt of this abominable traffic, at least for a certain period,* without any positive stipulation that it shall even then be brought to an end. We do not behold in it that valuable acquisition so much boasted of by the honorable member from Portsmouth—[the name of this Portsmouth member has not been handed down to us] "*that an end is then to be put to Slavery.*" Congress may be as much or more puzzled to put a stop to it then, than we are now. The clause has not secured its abolition.

"We do not think we are under any obligation to perform works of supererogation in the reformation of mankind: we do not esteem ourselves under any necessity to go to Spain or Italy to suppress the Inquisition of those countries; or of making a journey to the Carolinas to abolish the detestable custom of enslaving the Africans: but, Sir, we will not lend the aid of our ratification to this cruel and inhuman merchandize, not even for a day. There is a great distinction in not taking a part in the most barbarous violation of the sacred laws of God and humanity; and our becoming guarantees for its exercise for a term of years. Yes, Sir, it is our full purpose to wash our hands clear of it, and however unconcerned spectators we may remain of such predatory infractions of the laws of our nation, however unfeeling we may subscribe to the ratification of manstealing, with all its baneful consequences; yet I cannot but believe in justice to human nature, that if we reverse the consideration and bring this claimed power somewhat nearer to our own doors, we shall form a more equitable opinion of its claim to this ratification.

"Let us figure to ourselves a company of these manstealers well equipped for the enterprise, arriving on our coast. They seize or carry off the whole or a part of the town of Exeter. [where the Convention were then sitting] Parents are taken and children left: or, possibly they may be so fortunate as to have a whole family taken and carried off together by these relentless robbers. What must be their feelings in the hands of their new and arbitrary masters! Dragged at once from every thing they held dear to them; stripped of every comfort of life, like beasts of prey, they are hurried on a loathsome and distressing voyage to the coast of Africa, or some other quarter of the globe, where the greatest price may waft them; and here, if any thing can be added to their miseries, comes on the heart-breaking scene! a parent is sold to one—a son to another, and a daughter to a third.—Brother is cleft from brother—sister from sister—and parents from their darling offspring.—Broken with every distress that human nature can feel, and bedewed with tears of anguish, they are dragged into the last stage of depression and slavery, never, never to behold the faces of one another again. The scene is too affecting—I have not fortitude to pursue the subject."

We have seen nothing in all the doings of the Convention which reflects greater honor on the feelings of humanity, greater lustre on the principles which governed the patriots of the revolution, or more ennobling views of right and justice than the sentiments of this speech. They are those of the Abolitionists of the present day, who contend that the "ABOMINABLE TRAFFIC," the "CRUEL AND INHUMAN MERCHANDIZE," where "a parent is sold to one, a son to another, a daughter to a third," where "broken with every distress that human nature can feel, and bedewed with tears of anguish, they are dragged into the last stage of depression and slavery, never to behold the faces of one another again," which is carried on in the District of Columbia, directly under the eye of Congress, may not continue "EVEN FOR A DAY."

The effect of Mr. Atherton's speech, of which the foregoing is probably only an abstract, may be easily conceived. The above clause of the constitution, with some other objectionable features in it would have caused its rejection, but for an adjournment of the Convention.

"So dubious was the result," says Rev. Mr. Whiton in his Hist. of N. H. "that the friends of the Constitution, afraid to risk a decision at that time, plead for an adjournment, in the hope that further discussion among the people would work a favorable change on public opinion."—"Had the question on the ratification been taken at the first session of the Convention, it had been inevitably lost."

"During the recess, the Constitution continued to be the standing topic of earnest discussion in town and neighborhood meetings; many changes were wrought in its favor; some towns which had instructed their Delegates to oppose the ratification, recalled those instructions, and gave others of an opposite character. In the mean time, the Conventions of eight States had declared their ratification. The adjourned meeting of the New-Hampshire Convention, holden at Concord in June, continued only four days. Many amendments were proposed and accepted; the adoption of which by the other States, the opponents wished to make an indispensable condition of the validity of the ratification on the part of this State; but the advocates of the Constitution urged an unconditional ratification, accompanied by a mere *recommendation* of these amendments. Fearing the decision might be against them, the opponents in their turn urged, but ineffectually, another adjournment. On the last day of the session, the momentous question was taken. While the Secretary was calling over the names of the members and recording their votes, there was a death-like silence—every bosom throbbed with anxious expectation. The result was 57 votes for the ratification, and 46 against it, giving a majority of eleven in its favor."

"As an index of the popular feeling existing at the time, it will not be uninteresting to state, that during the session, the village of Concord was thronged with visitants, and the galleries of the church in which the Convention met, crowded with spectators—listening to the debates and awaiting with the deepest anxiety the final decision. Emissaries [and probably slaveholders] from other States attended, for the purpose of observing the course of events, and of influencing, if possible, the result. Immense speculations had been made in continental certificates, by purchases from the original holders, the officers and soldiers of the revolutionary army; and the purchasers, a numerous and powerful body, were well aware that their fortunes depended on the ratification or rejection of the Constitution. Another body still more numerous, felt the deepest anxiety for its fate, from no other motives than honest convictions of expediency, and patriotic zeal for the public good.—Such indeed was the excitement of the popular mind, that on the declaration of the vote, messengers flew in all directions. Intelligence was immediately sent by an express to New-York, whose Convention was then in session, and where the result was extremely doubtful. The reception of it had an important influence on the decision of that State."

* It is a remarkable fact and deserves remembrance, that notwithstanding the repeated assertions made in our days, that the Southern Colonies had slavery fastened upon them against their will, by the British Government, and would gladly have got rid of the evil, they insisted, at the formation of the Federal Constitution, that no restriction should be put upon the importation of slaves for the succeeding TWENTY YEARS!

Hon. Franklin Pierce.

"An honorable member from New-Hampshire (Mr. Pierce) has said that not one in five hundred of his constituents were in favor of the object of these petitions" [for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.]—*Mr. Slade's Speech.*

'Figures will not lie,' though the representatives of the people sometimes do. 'Facts are stubborn things' even when opposed by the magisterial *ipse dixit* of lawyers and legislators. The truth of these apothegms 'the honorable member from New-Hampshire' has undoubtedly learned before now. The present, however, is an occasion when he may be taught another lesson, and if he is wise he will improve it. He asserts "that not one in five hundred of his constituents is in favor" of petitioning Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. We wonder where his constituents reside. Not, certainly, in New-Hampshire, if this account of them is correct. Such an assertion is a libel on the views and feelings of the people of this state—facts and figures will prove it so.

The number of inhabitants in New-Hampshire in 1830, over twenty years of age, was 133,313. Now we have lying before us, from some six towns only, petitions to which are affixed, by their own sign manual, the names of more than seven hundred individuals. Besides these, there have been procured in a single town in Strafford county the signatures of more than three hundred legal voters. Another town in the same county will furnish nearly six hundred; another about three hundred; and others upwards of two hundred each. These signatures have been obtained with comparatively but little exertion. But these are not all, as Mr. Pierce will find before the present session of Congress closes. Large petitions have already been sent on, and others are still in circulation. From these facts we may safely calculate that more than four thousand persons will send in their petitions, not, however, by a dough-face like Mr. Pierce, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Let us, then, test the correctness of the honorable gentleman's assertion by the following calculation. The present population over twenty years of age being 133,313: then 133,313 ÷ 4000 = 33, thus showing that instead of only one in five hundred being in favor of such petitions, one in thirty three has already *signed* them, besides numerous others who are ready to do the same. If Mr. Pierce is as grossly ignorant of the general interests of his constituents, as he is of their feelings and views with regard to slavery, we advise him to resign his seat *immediately*, and *prepare* himself to represent them by spending the ensuing year in travelling among them, and making inquiries into their condition and opinions. If he should do this; and if he should faithfully portray in the course of his tour, the various scenes he has witnessed at the Capital of this republic, and under the very banner of our freedom;—the prison-house in which human beings are incarcerated for the crime of color—the auction scene where men, women and children are sold like brutes to the highest bidder—the violent and ruthless breaking up of families and all the social relations of life, the separation of husband and wife, parent and child—the gloomy coffle, the heart-breaking procession of victims, bending their way in chains to the far South—the bloody lash and savage voice of the soul-driver—the tear, the groan and the clanking manacle—if he will portray all this; and then, as a peroration, recount his own conduct in regard to abolishing the accursed system of which the above incidents constitute only a part; we assure him, from our knowledge of human nature, that his constituents' will never trouble him to represent them again, but will permit him to retire, *in otium cum indignitate*, to private life.

REPUBLICANISM and SLAVERY synonymous.

A political pro-slavery paper, the Nashua Telegraph, thus speaks of the distinguished Miss Harriet Martineau, whose recent attendance at the Ladies' Anti-Slavery meeting in Boston has given such mortal offence to the editorial craft:—

"Since she has undertaken to meddle with the subject of *Slavery* we think none the better of her. We want no emissaries from Monarchial Governments to give us lessons on *Republicanism*."

☞ WANTED at this Office No. 11 and 19 of the Herald to complete files. No. 11 is erroniously marked No. 13, and is dated Sept. 5. Any person having either of the above numbers, and not wishing to preserve them, will confer a favor by forwarding them to this office by mail.

☞ TO SUBSCRIBERS.—With this day's paper we send out bills to our delinquent subscribers, charging them according to the terms of our prospectus. Should any mistake be made we shall be happy to correct it as soon as informed of it. We hope payments will be remitted *immediately*, as the Herald will pass into other hands at the commencement of the next volume, and the present proprietors wish to settle the affairs of the establishment as soon as possible. As promptness is the very life of business, those of our delinquent subscribers who will forward us two dollars shall receive a receipt for the past and ensuing year, our terms notwithstanding—Otherwise $1.50 will invariably be required for the volume for which payment is now due. *Immediatum* is the motto.

Several communications are necessarily omitted this week.

[For the Herald of Freedom.]

Submit to the Powers that be.

I have been not a little startled by the language of one of the resolutions of the Charleston Presbytery. That the influence of slavery is ever in favor of tyranny, that the whole atmosphere, in which it moves, becomes tainted with the degradation that is attached to such an unnatural institution, I have never doubted. Its effect, from the very principles of the nature of man, from his moral existence, from the disposition, and passions, and inclinations which are his, cannot be otherwise than to foster a spirit of unmanly subserviency. Its existence darkens the moral sense, confuses the intellect, blinds the soul. The true distinction between liberty and slavery are lost sight of. Such an ennobling idea as that of universal liberty, liberty, equal liberty to all, dawns not upon the mind. Hence the confused notions of Man's natural and inherent rights, which are commonly entertained by the natives of a slaveholding state, whether they be bond or free.

Yet, however aware of these facts, I was not prepared to hear from a sacerdotal body of a state, which has been so distinguished for the patriotism and 'chivalry' of her sons, such a degrading, debasing, cowardly doctrine, as that "it is a requisition of Heaven to 'be subject to the powers that be!'" Yet this is an official assertion of the Presbytery of South Carolina, and this is one of their arguments for the continuance of slavery.

Who does not see in this despicable doctrine, the very root and essence of all despotism?—Power once established, no matter how acquired, no matter how abused, becomes, ipso facto, by its very existence, a thing sacred. What a doctrine is this for a republican, revolutionary country?

But who that knows history, does not likewise know how universally this identical precept has in all ages, been treasured up by the advocates of despotism in opposition to the liberty of the mass? Who does not know that this imaginary scripture command has been held up, in terrorum, over the rebellious heads of every advocate of human rights since the days of Nero?—Who cannot see how it is equally applicable to every species of misrule, every error of conduct, that is committed by the possessors of temporary authority? That, if permitted or established, the inherent rights of man would at once be declared a dead letter? It is precisely the same doctrine, it is indeed the text on which the old doctrine was founded, of the divine right of kings. If they rule by a "requisition of Heaven," to oppose their authority and disobey their arbitrary edicts, is, of course, a violation of the law of God and a sin against Omnipotence. Such a doctrine as this has long since been exploded as worthy only of the despotism of the Middle Ages, even in monarchical England, and is now to be revived in one of the United States! And in the very seat of Nullification itself!—Truly, we have commenced a retrograde movement in political and moral science, and are subjected to the mortification of seeing ourselves surpassed in the liberal sentiments which our ancestors first established, by our and freedom's ancient foe! *Dace ab hoste*, should be our governing precept. Instead of a living example to the antiquated forms of the old world's aristocracy, the subjects of prerogative are surpassing us in their progress in liberal principles.

How strange it is that our reverence of power should so far mislead us as to cause us to forget the true end of government. Strange that we should not feel that government only legal which promotes the good of the people, that the very object and design of its establishment is the security and happiness of the subject. That a government, which exceeds this, its design, becomes illegal and is at an end, from the very circumstance, that the original compact, by which it was established, has been violated.—That there is something higher and more sacred and more inviolable than the institutions of man, and that is, the law of Duty, and of Right, both to others and himself, that the God of nature has inscribed upon the twelve tables of his heart.

How consistent with the principles of a land of freedom, is this application of a prudential caution—made by a zealous apostle to his brethren, against subjecting their religion to suspicion by interference with affairs of state, and that too, under the reign of a tyrant, who has probably never been rivalled, save by some brutal slaveholder of modern times,—to gag the mouths of the advocates of man's natural rights! Who cannot see in this very circumstance, a clear indication of the spirit of slavery, and of its effects upon the mind?

This doctrine, as has been remarked, has been the favorite text of every tyrant and advocate of tyranny for the last eighteen centuries. It has prompted the tortures of the Inquisition; it has justified the tyranny which banished our Puritan forefathers; it has made a bond-slave of the noble Polander; it has aided alike the ecclesiastical and secular authorities in their continued struggle to maintain their stand upon the prostrate necks of a priest-ridden, tax-ridden populace. At the commencement of our Revolution, it was the favorite topic of the advocates of prerogative. Many a lusty harrangue, and many a loyal sermon were founded upon this text. The Rivingtons, the Galloways, the Olivers, in the assemblies of the people, or from the public press; the Coopers, the Peters, the Duches from the sacred desk, fulminated the vengeance of the Almighty upon the sacrilegious hand that should dare to work rebellion against the anointed of God. The same doctrine has been revived by the clergy of South Carolina in 1835, which was held by the High Churchmen of 1775; so exact is the connection between the tyranny of monarchs and that of slaveholders; so perfect is the parallel between the arguments that were adduced from that gospel that preaches unto all men the duty of doing to others what we would have them do to us, in favor of despotism, whether of the sceptre or the whip.

Thus the zealous loyalist, M'Fingal, in the happy satire of the patriot Trumbull, a poem which is doubtless as unpopular at the South, as is the Bible or the Declaration of Independence, is made to re-echo the sentiments of the leading tories:

"Have not our High church clergy made it
Appear from scriptures, which ye credit,
That *right divine* from *Heaven* was sent
To kings, that is, the Parliament,
Their subjects to oppress and teaze,
And serve they Devil when the please.

* * * *

Have not our Cooper and our Seabury
Sung hymns, like Barak and old Deborah;
Proved all intrigues to set you free
Rebellion 'gainst *the powers that be*;
Brought over many a scripture text
That us'd to wink at rebel sects,
Coax'd wayward ones to favor regents
Or paraphras'd them into obedience;
Prov'd every horn, e'en those coarsest
Horns of th' Apocalyptic beast,
And sprouting from its nodules seven,
Ordain'd as bishops are, *by Heaven*,
(For reason sim'lar, we are told
That Tophet was ordain'd of old;)
By this lay ordination valid,
Becomes all sanctifi'd and hallow'd,
Takes patent out when Heav'n has sign'd it,
And starts up straight, the Lord's anointed," &c.

So true it is, that scripture may be perverted to the worst of purposes, and, in defence of the worst of causes.

17 Dec. '35.

Anti-Slavery Convention at Northampton.

Mr. Editor—I have just returned from attending a Convention at Northampton of the friends of liberty and humanity. I thank God that I was permitted to attend that convention. Several circumstances made it one of deep and powerful interest.

1. *Its Object.*—To discuss the subject of Slavery. To ascertain whether American citizens had a *right* to discuss—whether it was their *duty* to discuss—the question of natural and civil rights.—To ascertain whether it is a *fact* that God created *all* men free and equal.—To inquire into the condition of those millions of our fellow-men, who are held as brutes and chattels by this christian and civilized nation. And to inquire what the freemen of old Hampshire could do for their redemption from their cruel and brutalizing servitude. Such were the objects of the Convention.

2. *The number and character of those who attended.* It was thought that not less than 1200 men were there as members of the convention.—Some thought 1500. Besides there were many ladies in the gallery. What was the character of this great assembly? They were not "satin gloved gentlemen of property and standing," such as constituted the savage mobs of Boston—but they were such ministers and christians and citizens as were found in the beautiful valley of the Connecticut. They were firm and steady young men, mechanics—such as are an ornament to any nation—men of intelligence, of integrity, of *peace*—who understand their rights, and are ready to give the blessings of freedom to all. I never met a more firm-looking, steady, respectable collection of men on any occasion.

3. *The Order of the Meeting.* I arrived in town Tuesday night, and put up at a hotel. From what I heard, I expected an effort would be made to disturb the meeting. But when I met the quiet citizens of the town, and saw their calm and undisturbed appearance, all my fears vanished. The Convention was undisturbed.—These citizens of Hampshire felt that they had a right to meet and discuss any subject—even that of *slavery* and *freedom*. Even those who were not with us in all our sentiments were entirely with us in this—that the right of free discussion was sacred. The meeting during the day and evening, was orderly and quiet, and none felt in fear of life or limbs. All felt that Judge Lynch—i. e. violence and murder—had not reached this peaceful town. There was indeed a blowing of horns among some half dozen poor, outcast boys in the evening, but they were totally unheeded.

4. *The Place of the Meeting.* In one of the largest meeting houses in the State. The first church in Northampton cheerfully offered their large and beautiful house for the meeting of the Convention. They felt that the poor, down-trodden slave had a right to be heard in the temple of God—that three millions of immortal beings, held as beasts and chattels had a right to plead their cause even in the holy sanctuary.—None could but help contrast the conduct of this church with that of the churches in Boston.—Your churches in Boston are all shut against the advocates of freedom—of peace—of moral reform. Even Dr. Nelson could not obtain a house to lecture on infidelity. Thanks to God, such is not the state of feeling in the country. I pray you confine this foul spirit of exclusion and oppression within your city—among your "gentlemen of property and standing."

A County Anti-Slavery Society was formed, and some stirring and pointed resolutions passed, to which you will doubtless have official accounts in due time. Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire are nobly coming up to this work. The spirit and principles of abolitionism are pervading the whole mass of those counties. The ministers of churches are all coming to the help of the slave, and they will speak, and their voice of love will be heard and the abused and lacerated slave will soon drop his chains and leap for joy.—*N. E. Spectator.*

Rights of Colored Persons maintained.—The county court, at their late extra session, have granted licences to all free negroes of good character to reside in the county. This result, as we are informed, is owing principally to the learned and patriotic worthy charge to the Grand Jury.

In an argument before the court for maintaining with much force of eloquence and succeeded in showing to the satisfaction of the court, that the provisions of the law of the late session of assembly, under which it was proposed to exclude them from a residence in the county, were both by the constitution of the United States and by that of Missouri, *unconstitutional*.

Sincerely do we hope that the conduct of the free blacks will be such as not to disappoint the good wishes of those benevolent individuals—we now refer to many of our most respectable citizens—who have in their hour of need interposed in their behalf.—*St. Louis Observer.*

☞ The accounts from Washington all agree, so far as we have seen, in saying that the speech of Samuel Hoar, from the Middlesex district, on the subject of the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, was, by far, the best that has been delivered on that question. It was just such a one as was to be expected from one of the *ablest* and *honest*est men in Massachusetts. He did not *dodge* the question or *blink* it; but met it manfully, in a sound constitutional argument, which scattered to the four winds of heaven, the sophistry which had been heaped upon it.—*Worcester Spy.*

☞ NEW WORKS.—"Evils of Slavery and the Cure of Slavery;" "Authentic Anecdotes of American Slavery;" and "Anti-slavery Catechism." These little works are from the pen of Mrs. Child, and well calculated for distribution. The two former are fifty cents a dozen. The latter ten cents each. For sale at the depository connected with this office.

Second Annual Meeting of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society.

The Second Annual Meeting of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society will, with the leave of Providence be holden at Middlebury, on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 16th and 17th days of February next. It is hoped that every auxiliary Society will be represented by two or more Delegates, and that the friends of the cause in every part of the State will, so far as practicable, attend, as subjects of great importance will come before the meeting.

By order of the Executive Committee.
C. L. KNAPP, *Rec. Secretary.*
Jan. 19, 1836.

POETRY.

Now if there be a pale faced Miss in this village who scorns the company of a colored person on the ground that they are an inferior order of beings to the whites, who will produce a piece of poetry of equal merit with the following, I pledge myself that they shall be handsomely rewarded; with the ingenuous acknowledgement also that their negro despising principles are more the result of the *hardness of their hearts* than the obtuseness of their intellect or the thickness of their skull!!—*Pawtucket Record.*

On the death of the Rev. George Whitefield.--1770.

BY PHILLIS WHEATLY.

Hail, happy saint! on thine immortal throne,
Possest of glory, life, and bliss unknown;
We hear no more the music of thy tongue,
Thy wonted auditories cease to throng.
Thy sermons in unequalled accents flowed,
And ev'ry bosom with devotion glowed,
Thou didst, in strains of eloquence refined,
Inflame the heart, and captivate the mind.
Unhappy, we the setting sun deplore,
So glorious once, but ah! it shines no more.

Behold the prophet in his towering flight!
He leaves the earth for heaven's unmeasured height,
And worlds unknown receive him from our sight.
There Whitefield wings with rapid course his way,
And sails to Zion through vast seas of day.
Thy prayers, great saint, and thine incessant cries,
Have pierced the bosom of thy native skies.
Thou, moon, hast seen, and all the stars of light,
How he has wrestled with his God by night.
He prayed that grace in ev'ry heart might dwell;
He longed to see America excel;
He charged its youth that every grace divine
Saould with full lustre in their conduct shine:
That Saviour, which his soul did first receive,
The greatest gift that ev'n a God can give,
He freely offered to the num'rous throng,
That on his lips with list'ning pleasure hung.

"Take him, ye wretched, for your only good,
"Take him, ye starving sinners, for your food,
"Ye thirsty, come to this life-giving stream.
"Ye preachers, take him for your joyful theme,
"Take him, my dear Americans, he said,
"Be your complaints on his kind bosom laid:
"Take him, ye Africans, he longs for you,
"Impartial Saviour is his title due:
"Washed in the fountain of redeeming blood,
"You shall be sons, and kings, and priests to God."

Great Countess,* we Americans, revere
Thy name, and mingle in thy grief sincere;
New-England deeply feels, the orphans mourn,
Their more than father will no more return.

But though arrested by the hand of death,
Whitefield no more exerts his lab'ring breath,
Yet let us view him in the eternal skies,
Let ev'ry heart to this bright vision rise;
While the tomb, safe, retains its sacred trust,
Till life divine re-animates his dust.

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* The Countess of Huntington, to whom Mr. Whitefield was chaplain.

The Worm and the Flower.

BY J. MONTGOMERY.

You're spinning for my lady, Worm,
Silk garments for the fair;
You're spinning rainbows for a form
More beautiful than air;
When air is bright with sunbeams,
And morning mists arise
From woody vales and mountain streams,
To blue autumnal skies.

You're training for my lady, Flower!
You're opening for my love
The glory of her summer bower,
While sky-larks soar above.
Go, twine her locks with rose-buds,
Or breathe upon her breast;
While zephyrs curl the water floods,
The rock the halcyon's nest

But Oh! there is another worm
Ere long will visit her,
And revel on her lovely form
In the dark sepulchre:
Yet from that sepulchre shall spring
A flower as sweet as thee:
Hard by the nightingale shall sing,
Soft winds its petals kiss.

Fair emblems of frail beauty, ye,
In beauty who would trust;
Since all that charms the eye must be
Consigned to worms and dust.
Yet like the flower that decks her tomb,
Her soul shall quit the clod,
And shine in Amaranthine bloom
Fast by the throne of God!

MISCELLANY.

[From the Christian Register and Observer.]

An Illustration.

Mr. Editor,—The most imposing part of the reply to Dr. Channing on Slavery strongly reminded me of something I have read in the writings of Dr. Franklin. 'It is,' writes Dr. Franklin, 'a speech made by Sidi Mehemet-Ibrahim, a member of the Divan of Algiers, which may be seen in Martin's account of his consulship, 1687. It was against granting the petition of the sect called *Erika* or *Purists*, who prayed for the abolition of piracy and slavery, as being unjust. * * * The African speech as translated is as follows.

'"Alla Bismillah &c. God is great and Mahomet is his Prophet." Have these Erika considered the consequences of granting their petition? If we cease our cruises against the Christians, how shall we be furnished with the commodities their countries produce, and which are so necessary for us? If we forbear to make slaves of their people, who in this hot climate are to cultivate our lands? Who are to perform the common labors of our city, and of our families? Must we not then be our own slaves? And is there not more compassion and more favor due to us Mussulmen, than to those christian dogs? We have now about 30,000 slaves in and near Algiers. This number if not kept up by fresh supplies, will soon diminish, and be gradually annihilated. If then we cease taking and plundering the infidel ships and making slaves of the seamen and passengers, our lands will become of no value, for want of cultivation; the rents of houses in the city will sink one half; and the revenues of government, arising from the share of prizes, must be totally destroyed. And for what? To gratify the whim of a whimsical sect, who would have us not only forbear making more slaves, but even manumit those we have. But who is to indemnify their masters for the loss? Will the state do it? Is our treasury sufficient? Will the Erika do it? Can they do it? Or would they, to do what they think justice to the slaves, do a greater injustice to the owners? And if we set our slaves free what is to be done with them? Few of them will return to their native countries; they know too well the greater hardships they must then be subject to. They will not embrace our holy religion; they will not adopt our manners; our people will not pollute themselves by intermarrying with them. Must we maintain them as beggars in our streets, or suffer our property to be the prey of their pillage? for men accustomed to slavery will not work for a livelihood, when not compelled.—And what is there so pitiable in their present condition? Were they not slaves in their own countries? Are not Spain, Portugal, France, and the Italian states governed by despots, who hold all their subjects in slavery without exception? Even England treats her sailors as slaves, for they are, whenever the government pleases, seized or confined in ships of war, condemned not only to work, but to fight, for small wages, or a mere subsistence, not better than our slaves are allowed by us. Is their condition then made worse by their falling into our hands? No. They have only exchanged one slavery for another; and I may say a better: for here they are brought into a land where the sun of Islaism gives forth its light, and shines in full splendor, and they have an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the true doctrine, and thereby saving their immortal souls. Those who remain at home have not that happiness. Sending the slaves home then, would be sending them out of light into darkness.

'I repeat the question, what is to be done with them? I have heard it suggested that they may be planted in the wilderness, where there is plenty of land for them to subsist on, and where they may flourish as a free state. But they are, I doubt, too little disposed to labor without compulsion, as well as too ignorant to establish good government; and the wild Arabs would soon molest and destroy or again enslave them. While serving us we take care to provide them with every thing; and they are treated with humanity. The laborers in their own countries are, as I am informed, worse fed, lodged, and clothed. The condition of most of them is therefore abundantly mended, and requires no further improvement. Here their lives are in safety. They are not liable to be impressed for soldiers, and forced to cut one anothers christian throats, as in the wars of their own countries. If some of the religious mad bigots, who now tease us with their silly petitions, have, in a fit of blind zeal, freed their slaves, it was not humanity that moved them to the action; it was from a conscious burden of a load of sins, and hope, from the supposed merit of so good a work to be excused from damnation.—How grossly are they mistaken in imagining slavery to be disavowed by the Alcoran! Are not the two precepts, to quote no more, 'Masters treat your slaves with kindness—slaves serve your masters with cheerfulness and fidelity,' clear proofs to the contrary? Nor can the plundering of infidels be in that sacred book forbidden; since it is well known from it that God has given the world and all that it contains to his faithful Mussulmen, who are to enjoy it of right as fast as they can conquer it. Let us then hear no more of this detestable proposition, the manumission of christian slaves, the adoption of which would, by depreciating our lands and houses, and thereby depriving so many good citizens of their property, create universal contempt, and provoke insurrections, to the endangering of government, and producing general confusion.

'I have thought no doubt that this wise council will prefer the comfort and happiness of a whole nation of true believers, to the whim of a few Erika, and dismiss their petition."

'The result was, as Martin tells us, that the Divan came to this resolution. "That the doctrine that the plundering and enslaving the christians is unjust, is at least problematical; but that it is the interest of this state to continue the practice is clear; therefore let the petition be rejected."—And it was rejected accordingly.'

For the above see Franklin's Works, London Edition of 1793, vol. 1. p. 143 et seq.

I may conclude this communication by adapting the words of Franklin to the writer of the reply to Dr. Channing. He does not quote the above speech, perhaps he has not seen it. If, therefore, some of the writers reasonings are found in the above speech, it shows that man's interests operate, and are operated on, with surprising similarity, in all countries and climates, whenever they are under similar circumstances.

A Reader.

The African Slave Trade.

A proposition to build houses by beginning at the tops and working towards the foundations, would be quite as wise and feasible as the abolition of the African slave trade, while American slavery is sustained and cherished. The legal prohibition of the trade is worth something as a concession of principle, but as a matter of practice it is probably worse than nugatory. So long as human beings are made *property*, humanity would seem to require that man-stealing should be *regulated* rather than abolished. Let it be done *kindly*, for in spite of laws, ships of war, and gibbets, it will be done. The greater the risk the greater the reward; and all the additional cruelty, the man-stealers will charge upon the hypocritical legislators who hold out a halter in one hand and plenty of gold in the other—which means, 'escape the former and you shall be sure of the latter.'

But of all absurdities the most stupendous is that of stopping the slave trade by trading colonies on the coast of Africa. "I have a plan," said our friend Tom Blunder, "to put a stop to the Gulf Stream." Ah, indeed, what is it? "Why it is to load sloops with the rubbish made by the great fire and sail 'em down and sink 'em all the way from Florida to Cuba." But that's a dry joke, Tom,—"No, but I am in earnest. I've got a *fact* to tell you. I'm none of your speculators. Don't you think, when we run the Juno aground off Cape Sable, she stopped the current that had been running there before, like a mill race, from all eternity."—Very likely, and what of that? "Why, we only want to do the same thing all the way across, and we shall stop the whole concern." Rather doubtful, Tom, for while the trade winds heap up the waters in the Gulf, they *will* run out somewhere. "What, run out, if we should make a real pier all the way across to Cuba!" Yes, while you dammed one place the current would deepen another. "Never make me believe that. Why I have a *fact*, sir; I *know* that the Juno *did stop* some of that 'ere current, any how.'"

And *so* Liberia has stopped the slave trade.—*Human Rights.*

Women. How unjust we are to women! Most men, who really study, *begin* to study after the age when women are married. But women cannot study *after marriage*. What do men know before twenty-five? About as much as women before eighteen. Look to the opportunities and encouragement of man.—Rivalry--conversation---clubs—lectures—learned associations—always living, talking and listening—and always in the open air.

Look at the opportunities and encouragement of women—most of them pass their lives, almost from necessity, in a room of perhaps twelve or fifteen feet square, always surrounded by the same objects—the same faces—the same cups and saucers. To embroider and work muslin—to whip the children and charge the servants—nay, "to suckle fools and chronicle small beer," is not to be educated. And yet our young whipper-snappers affect to laugh at the understanding of women—fools! Give women but half their opportunities, or a little of their encouragement, and they will outstrip nineteen-twentieths of the men about them.—*Galaxy.*

The Generous Lioness.—A man passing through an Asiatic forest, came suddenly upon a Lioness. Her eyeballs glared with fury, and she seemed greatly agitated, but did not offer to touch the man: on the contrary, she seemed to try to direct his attention towards a certain tree.

When he had sufficiently recovered from his fright to venture to look up into the tree, he saw at once what the matter was. A large baboon had stolen a cub from the lioness, and was sitting on a lofty branch, with it in his arms. As the tree was one of that succulent (juicy, moist,) kind, so common in hot climates, the man quickly cut it down with his hatchet; and on its fall the lioness seized the baboon, tore him in pieces in a moment, and departed with her cub without offering to injure the traveller.

Many similar instances of generosity in this fierce animal, are on record.—*Parley's Magazine.*

Interesting Anecdote.

It is not long since a gentleman was travelling, in one of the counties of Virginia, and, about the close of the day, stopped at a public house to obtain refreshments and spend the night. He had been there but a short time, before an old man alighted from his gig, with the apparent inteation of becoming his fellow guest at the same house. As the old man drove up, he observed, that both of the shafts of his gig were broken, and that they were held together by withes formed from a bark of a hickory sapling.—Our traveller observed, further, that he was plainly clad, that his knee buckles were loosened, and that something like negligence pervaded his dress. Conceiving him to be one of the honest yeomanry of our land, the courtesies of strangers passed between them and they entered the tavern. It was about the same time, that an addition of three or four young gentlemen was made to their number, most, if not all of them, members of the legal profession. As soon as they became conveniently accommodated, the conversation was turned by one of the latter upon an eloquent harrangue that had, that day, been displayed at the bar. It was replied by the other, that he had witnessed the same day, a degree of eloquence, no doubt equal; but that it was from the pulpit. Something like a sarcastic rejoinder was made to the eloquence of the pulpit, and an able and warm altercation ensued, in which the merits of the Christian religion became the subject of discussion. From six o'clock until eleven, the young champions wielded the sword of argument, adducing with ingenuity and ability, every thing that could be said pro and con. During this protracted period, the old gentleman listened with all the meekness and modesty of a child, as if he was adding new information to the stores of his own mind; or, perhaps he was observing, with a philosophic eye, the faculties of the youthful mind, and how new energies are revolved by repeated action; or perhaps, with patriotic emotion, he was reflecting upon the future destinies of his country, and on the rising generation, upon whom these future destinies must devolve; or, most probably, with a sentiment of moral and religious feeling, he was collecting an argument which, (characteristic of himself,) no art would be "able to elude, and no force to resist." At last, one of the young men remarking, that it was impossible to combat with long and established prejudices, whirled around, and with some familiarity, exclaimed,—"Well, my old gentleman, what think you of these things?"

"If," said the traveller, "a streak of vivid lightning had, at that moment, crossed the room, their amazement could not have been greater than it was with what followed."

The most eloquent and unanswerable appeal was made, for nearly an hour, by the old gentleman, that he ever heard or read. So perfect was his recollection, that every argument urged against the Christian religion, was met in the order in which it was advanced. Hume's sophistry, on the subject of miracles, was, if possible, more perfectly answered, than it had already been done by Campbell. And, in the whole lecture, there was so much simplicity and energy, pathos and sublimity, that not another word was uttered.

"An attempt to describe it," said the traveller, "would be an attempt to paint the sunbeams." It was now a matter of curiosity and inquiry, who the old gentleman was.—The traveller concluded, that it was the preacher from whom the pulpit eloquence was heard—but no—it was the Chief Justice of the United States.—*Winchester Republican.*

Phillis Wheatley.

Phillis Wheatley was born in Africa, and brought to Boston in a slave-ship, in the year 1761, then between seven and eight years of age. She was purchased by Mr. Wheatley, but she soon discovered qualities so interesting and peculiar, that she was treated more as an inmate of the family, than as a slave. She made an extraordinary progress in acquiring the English language, and, without any advantage from schools, learned reading and writing, and manifested the greatest eagerness for gleaning knowledge. Her taste inclined to poetry; she read and relished the best authors, and soon began to compose verses. Meantime the attention of the community was turned to so singular a phenomenon, and she was visited and noticed by people of the first character. Her correspondence was sought, and it extended to persons of distinction even in England, among whom may be named the Countess of Huntington, Whitefield, and the Earl of Dartmouth. In 1773 when she was nineteen years of age, a volume of her poems was published in London, some of which had been written five or six years. The volume is dedicated to the Countess of Huntingdon, and in the preface are the names of the Governor of Massachusetts, and several other eminent gentlemen, bearing testimony to their belief of her having been the genuine writer of the poems. In whatsoever order of merit they may be ranked, it cannot be doubted, that they exhibit the most favorable evidence on record of the capacity of the African intellect for improvement. The classical allusions are numerous, and imply a wide compass of reading, a correct judgment, good taste and a tenacious memory. Her deportment is represented to have been gentle and unpretending, her temper amiable, her feelings refined, and her religious impressions strong and constant. She was married, at what time is uncertain, to Mr. Peters, a man of her own color, whom tradition reports, to have been but little qualified for conferring happiness on so gifted a companion. She died at Boston, December 5, 1784, aged thirty-one years.

I have not been able to find among Washington's papers the letters and poem addressed to him. They have doubtless been lost. From the circumstance of her invoking the muse in his praise, and from the tenor of some of her spirited pieces, particularly one addressed to King George, seven years before, in which she compliments him on the repeal of the Stamp Act, it may be inferred that she was a whig in politics, after the American way of thinking; and it might be curious to see in what manner she would eulogize liberty and the rights of man, while herself, nominally at least, in bondage.—*Sparks' Writings of Washington.*

The following letter was addressed to her by Gen. Washington, on receiving a poem written by her.

Letter from Gen. Washington to Phillis Wheatley.

Cambridge, 28 February, 1776.

Miss Phillis,

Your favour of the 26 of October did not reach my hands till the middle of December. Time enough you may say to have given an answer ere this. Granted. But a variety of important occurrences continually interposing to distract the mind and withdraw the attention, I hope will apologize for the delay and plead my excuse for the seeming, but not real neglect. I thank you most sincerely for your polite notice of me in the elegant lines you enclosed; and however undeserving I may be of such encomium and panegyric, the style and manner exhibit a striking proof of your poetical talents; in honor of which and as a tribute justly due to you, I would have published the poem, had I not been apprehensive that, while I only meant to give the world this new instance of your genius, I might have incurred the imputation of vanity. This, and nothing else, determined me not to give it place in the public prints.

If you should ever come to Cambridge, or near head quarters, I shall be happy to see a person so favored by the Muses, and to whom nature has been so liberal and benificent in her dispensations.

I am, with great respect,
your humble servant,
G. WASHINGTON.

Rev. Geo. B. Cheever.—Our readers will be happy to learn, that this gentleman is liberated from confinement. We trust his large soul is still free as air, and bent, steadily, upon his Master's work. The editor of the Lynn Record, says:—

"On Sunday last, Rev. Geo. B. Cheever was liberated from his thirty days' imprisonment for publishing his Dream on "Deacon Giles' Distillery." In the evening we had the high satisfaction of attending his first religious performance afterward, at his own house of worship in Salem. We arrived, near the commencement of his exercises, after meeting very many going away for want of being able to gain admittance. We found the large house crowded to excess; the whole inside presenting to the eye one entire mass of heads. By patience and perseverance, however, we succeeded in working our way up the broad aisle, till we could hear, distinctly the speaker's voice, which was hardly sufficient for such an immense assembly. We have rarely witnessed so solemn and interesting an occasion. The whole soul of the speaker seemed absorbed in the vastness of his subject, which was *life, a state of probation for eternity*, illustrated by the parable of the *barren fig tree*. Luke xiii, 5—9.

An enlightened and liberal Legislator.—We have seen this morning, an envelope addressed to Arthur Tappan and gentlemen franked by *J. Speight*, a member of Congress from N. Carolina, containing a piece of rope with this sensible, liberal and manly *envoi*.

"I herewith return you your protest, enclosing as a testimony of my high regard for your necks, a piece of rope. You will no doubt duly appreciate my motives.

J. Speight."

Washington, 2d Jan. 1835."

The paper thus returned was the principal Protest of the American Anti-Slavery Society, against the denunciations of the President of the U. S. in his Message—a copy of which had been sent to every member of Congress—a document signed by *Arthur Tappan, William Jay*, and others.—*N. Y. American.*

Filial Duty.—'Even in this life, as honoring father and mother hath a special promise of prosperity and long life, so dishonoring and grieving parents is usually punished with some notable calamity, as a forerunner of the GREAT REVENGE hereafter.'

Flowers furnish gorgeous imagery and beautiful thoughts. They speak directly to the heart. No marvel is it then that woman loves them. They bear such touching similitude to her own history—repaying with grateful fragrance and beauty the hand which cherishes them, and dying beneath the blighting influence of this world's coldness and neglect.

Religion.—"Its diffusive spirit is beautifully illustrated in the conduct of a little girl. She was much attached to a neighboring mechanic and visited him daily at his shop.—The attachment was mutual and strong. He was a hardened man, and would suffer no one to approach him on the subject of religion. This little girl was converted in the Sabbath School, and, in the joy of her heart, hastened to her friend to tell him of her Saviour, not doubting, but that, as usual, he would be interested in all that interested her. She went to him, and threw her arms around his neck, and told him of her Saviour's love, and she reached his heart, and he was conquered by the love of Christ."—*Landmark.*

Encouragement to Mothers.—'The celebrated John Randolph once said, that he should have been a French Atheist, had it not been for the recollections of his mother's love in teaching him the Lord's Prayer.'

Religion.—The following is from the pen of Sir Walter Scott. The ideas are beautifully set forth.

"There are those to whom a sense of religion has come in a storm and tempest; there are those whom it has summoned among scenes of revelry and idle vanity; there are those too who have heard 'its still small voice,' amid rural leisure and placid contentment: but perhaps the knowledge which causeth not to err, is most frequently impressed upon the mind during scenes of affliction: and tears are the softened showers which cause the seed of heaven to spring and take root in the human breast."

A slave was recently arrested at Charleston, S. C., who had been a runaway from his master's plantation, in one of the upper counties, for seventeen years.

Good preachers give fruits and not flowers.

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